

25 JAN 1962

Honorable Jack Westland
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Westland:

This is in response to your letter of 10 January 1962 concerning H. R. 1845, "A BILL To create the Freedom Commission for the development of the science of counteraction to the world Communist conspiracy and for the training and development of leaders in a total political war," which you introduced in the House of Representatives on 4 January 1961.

Reports on your bill and similar bills have been requested from this Agency. In keeping with executive practice, our request for clearance of our reports has been made to the Bureau of the Budget but has not yet been received. We are advised that the matter is still being studied.

In accordance with your request, we will be pleased to forward our report to the Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as soon as clearance is received.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

John S. Warner
Legislative Counsel

cc: House Committee on Un-
American Activities

OGC/LC:JGOJr:cdk (25 Jan 62)

Orig & 1 - Addressee

✓ 1 - OGC/LC Subj. H. R. 1845

1 - OGC/LC Signer (JGOJr)

1 - OGC/LC Chrono.

SECRET

**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP**

TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	Legis. Counsel		
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
	ACTION	DIRECT REPLY	PREPARE REPLY
	APPROVAL	DISPATCH	RECOMMENDATION
	COMMENT	FILE	RETURN
	CONCURRENCE	INFORMATION	SIGNATURE

Remarks:

To coordinate with the Bureau of the
Budget and prepare reply for DCI signature.

FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER

FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.

DATE

LBKirkpatrick 12 Jan 62

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

D DIST., WASHINGTON

MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND
INSULAR AFFAIRS

ROOM 1419
NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON
ATOMIC ENERGY

Executive Registry

62-235

January 10, 1962

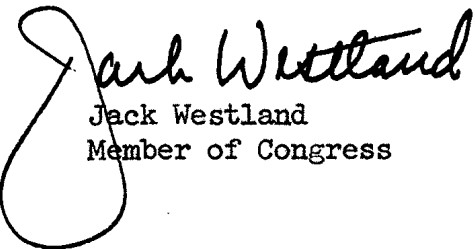
Hon. John A. McCone
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. McCone:

It is my understanding that Congressman Francis Walter, Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, requested a report from the Central Intelligence Agency on a bill, H.R. 1845, which I introduced in the House on January 4, 1961. It would create the Freedom Commission for the development of the science of counteraction to the world Communist conspiracy and for the training and development of leaders in a total political war.

Since I would like to request committee consideration of my bill, I would appreciate any effort your office might make to expedite the report to the Chairman.

Sincerely yours,


Jack Westland
Member of Congress

JW/et

SECRET

AR
Brentford Bull
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Journal - Office of Legislative Counsel
Wednesday - 17 January 1962

8. (Unclassified - JGO) Advised by James Hyde, BOB, that with regard to our question concerning BOB approval of Agency reports on legislative proposals for the creation of a Freedom Commission, for the development of the science of counteraction to the world communist conspiracy and for the training and development of leaders in a total political war, that final determination has not been made. For publication, Mr. Hyde stated that the executive branch is still studying the matter. (See Journal of 16 January 1962.)

JOHN S. WARNER
Legislative Counsel

cc: IG
DD/S
Col. Grogan

Page Denied

*Legislation
HR 1845*

**Journal - Office of Legislative Counsel
Monday - 16 January 1962**

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8. (Secret - GLC) Delivered to Don O'Brian, Administrative Assistant to Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R., Iowa), a classified letter from Mr. McGone to the Senator.

9. (Confidential - GLC) Talked with Mrs. Smith, in the office of Senator E. L. Hartnett, concerning the Senator's letter on behalf of [redacted] who is interested in a position with the Agency. I advised Mrs. Smith that if we should have any interest in [redacted] it would be of such a nature that we would not want to engage in open correspondence concerning it and, therefore, we would not reply to the Senator's letter in writing. However, our people are making arrangements to contact [redacted] Mrs. Smith asked if we would advise her orally of the outcome of our contact with [redacted]

10. (Confidential - GLC) Left with David Martin, in the office of Senator Thomas J. Dodd, a blind memorandum containing CI Staff [redacted]

11. (Unclassified - GLC) Left with Mrs. Gwen Lewis, on the House Committee on Un-American Activities staff, two copies of our diagrammatic chart of the Soviet Communist Party organization, one of which was corrected to include strength figures obtained as a result of the recent Communist Party Congress. Mrs. Lewis explained that the Committee would like to use this chart in its publication on the Communist Party structure and objectives. She said it could be used without attribution to the Agency and I agreed to its use on this basis.

I also talked with Mrs. Lewis concerning a letter we had received from Representative Jack Westland asking that we give HCUA a report on H. R. 1845, Westland's Freedom Academy bill. I advised Mrs. Lewis that a check of our records failed to show that a request for a report had been received from the Committee. Mrs. Lewis first said she did not believe the Committee had asked for our views on this legislation but later found a carbon copy of a letter which was supposed to have been sent on 13 April 1961 requesting our views on this bill. We are checking further on this.

S. 908. A bill to amend title X of the Social Security Act to liberalize the restrictions with respect to possession of property or other resources imposed as a condition of eligibility for aid to the blind under State programs established pursuant to such title; to the Committee on Finance.

(See the remarks of Mr. HARTKE when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. ERVIN:

S.J. Res. 47. Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution of September 7, 1957 (71 Stat. 626), providing for the establishment of a Civil War Centennial Commission; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. ERVIN when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

S.J. Res. 48. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of President and Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. CASE of South Dakota when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. KEATING (for himself, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. SCOTT, and Mr. WILEY):

S.J. Res. 49. Joint resolution providing for the establishment of an annual Youth Appreciation Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. KEATING when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

RESOLUTIONS

ELIZABETH J. DOUGHTON

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 83) to pay a gratuity to Elizabeth J. Doughton, which was placed on the calendar.

(See the above resolution printed in full where it appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

THELMA AUSTON BROWN

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original resolution (S. Res. 84) to pay a gratuity to Thelma Auston Brown, which was placed on the calendar.

(See the above resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. HAYDEN, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

UNIFICATION OF IRELAND

Mr. DIRKSEN submitted a resolution (S. Res. 85) favoring the unification of Ireland, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. DIRKSEN, which appears under a separate heading.)

INVESTIGATION OF MATTERS PERTAINING TO MIGRATORY LABOR

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 86) to investigate matters pertaining to migratory labor, which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized under section 134(a) and 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, and in accordance with its jurisdictions specified by rules XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate to examine, investigate, and make a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to migratory labor including, but not limited to, such problems as (a) the wages of migratory workers, their working conditions, transportation facilities, housing, health and educational opportunities for migrants and their children, (b) the nature of and the relationships between the programs of the Federal Government and the programs of State and local governments and the activities of private organizations dealing with the problems of migratory workers, and (c) the degree of additional Federal action necessary in this area.

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this resolution the committee, from February 1, 1961, to January 31, 1962, inclusive, is authorized (1) to make such expenditures as it deems advisable; (2) to employ upon a temporary basis, technical, clerical, and other assistants and consultants: *Provided*, That the minority is authorized to select one person for appointment, and the person so selected shall be appointed and his compensation shall be fixed so that his gross rate shall not be less by more than \$1,200 than the highest gross rate paid to any other employee; and (3) with the prior consent of the heads of the departments or agencies concerned, and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to utilize the reimbursable services, information, facilities, and personnel of any of the departments or agencies of the Government.

Sec. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with its recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 31, 1962.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the committee, under this resolution, which shall not exceed \$50,000 shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I introduce, for reference, to the appropriate committee a bill to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy to research, develop and project an integrated, operational science to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism and to train Government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science. I am joined today in the sponsorship of this bill by Senator DOUGLAS, Senator CASE of New Jersey, Senator DODD, and Senator SMATHERS; and I request unanimous consent that the bill lie on the table for 1 week to enable other Senators who may wish to do so to join us in its sponsorship.

I introduced this bill, which has become popularly known as the Freedom Academy bill, in the 86th Congress along with cosponsors Senators DOUGLAS and CASE of New Jersey and companion legislation was introduced in the House by Congressman SYD HERLONG and Congressman WALTER JUDD. On August 31, 1960 the Senate approved our bill to establish a Freedom Academy in this country; however, the sine die adjournment of the 86th Congress prevented

the House from taking action. I am advised that Congressmen HERLONG and JUDD will re-introduce this measure in the House within the next few days.

Mr. President, this bill has one primary aim—the substantial improvement of the cold war capabilities of the United States and the free world so that we can win the cold war struggle with the Communists. To accomplish this aim the bill proposes two coordinate courses of action. First, the creation of an agency in Government, to which is specifically delegated the responsibility for developing a systematic, integrated applied science of nonmilitary action appropriate for utilization by the United States and other free world nations in the global cold war struggle with the Communist world; and, second, the establishment of a training institution to be known as the Freedom Academy wherein courses in this applied science of nonmilitary warfare can be offered to a wide range of individuals, including government personnel, teachers, trade unionists, businessmen, clergymen, association and organization representatives, as well as others.

Mr. President, we are already at war with the Communist world, and let no man doubt the verity of that fact. The war, of which I speak, is nonmilitary in character. Its weapons are planned riots, propaganda, diplomatic blackmail, coups d'etat, and all the other techniques of political warfare. The threat to the security and survival of the free world posed by this nonmilitary struggle is every bit as great as that posed by a thermonuclear attack.

This nonmilitary war, like a military war, demands vast and intensive preparation; it requires trained personnel, research and development activities, and highly sophisticated weapons systems. While the Communists have systematically prepared for this nonmilitary aggression for over 40 years and have been directing coordinated and well-planned political warfare attacks against us for more than 16 years, we have continued to avoid preparation in this area and have remained largely passive insofar as any counterattack by us in the certitude that right must win over might. Our counteraction has on occasion been ingenious and imaginative, but it has in the main been developed on an ad hoc basis. Such off-the-cuff planning will not suffice; its glaring vulnerability has already been amply demonstrated in China, Japan, Iraq, and the waters of the Caribbean.

Mr. President, we urgently need a Manhattan project to develop the tools, the tactics, and the trained personnel to fight and win the cold war. I humbly submit that the passage of the Freedom Academy bill can provide us with that Manhattan project to bring us to combat readiness in the cold war.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. I commend the Senator from South Dakota for what he has done.

1961

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

1751

I am honored to join my distinguished colleague in presenting the Freedom Academy bill for the consideration of the Senate.

This bill, as the Senators will recall, was passed by the Senate in the closing days of the last session. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to bring the measure to a vote in the House, in the brief time that remained.

In reporting the Freedom Academy bill favorably to the Senate last August, the Judiciary Committee described it as one of the most important ever introduced in the Congress. For my own part, I consider this an understatement.

I believe that on the enactment of this measure may depend whether or not we survive as a free nation—whether our grandchildren will know the meaning of freedom, religion, morality, justice, brotherly love, and all the other values we hold dear, or whether they will be enslaved and molded into godless robots by a triumphant Communist regime.

I do not exaggerate. Time is running out for the free world. Since the end of World War II, 700 million people, a third of the world's population, has fallen under Communist rule. The Communists are on the offensive in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa. Another 15 years like the past 15 years, Mr. President, and I am afraid there will be no free world left to defend.

We have lost and lost and lost in the cold war for one primary reason: we have been amateurs fighting against professionals. So long as we remain amateurs in the critical field of political warfare, the billions of dollars we annually spend on defense and foreign aid will provide us with a diminishing measure of protection.

Shortly after their takeover in Russia, the Bolsheviks set up a system of political warfare development and training centers. Today they have special centers for Soviet students, special centers for Latin American students, for African students, and for Asian students.

At lower level, these schools have produced graduates who have been taught how to argue their position, make propaganda, and win converts; how to infiltrate trade unions and mass organizations; how to organize strikes; how to set up Communist fronts; how to win popular support on limited issues; how to incite spontaneous riots; and how to go about seizing power. At top level, the graduates of these training academies have made a careful study of all the vulnerabilities of Western society, and have been taught how to exploit these vulnerabilities, how to plan a coordinated attack employing the full spectrum of political, economic, psychological, and social weapons. These trained conflict managers have also been taught the ultimate art of confounding their enemies through the orchestration of crises on a global scale.

It was estimated, at the hearings held last year by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, that these training establishments have graduated more than 100,000 professional revolutionaries. This is a frightening figure when one

considers that it takes only a handful to incite a riot or to take over in a country like Cuba.

The possession by both sides of large stocks of nuclear weapons makes all-out war increasingly improbable. This may be some consolation, but it does not protect us from Communist subversion. On the contrary, ever since the nuclear stalemate first developed, the Communists have been placing increasing emphasis on the political warfare sector. Here they have scored brilliant successes, because in this sector we have no serious defenses, no cadres of trained personnel, little understanding.

Let us face up to the fact that the mightiest defense establishment in the world was helpless, in fact worthless, when it came to preventing a Communist takeover in Cuba. It was also of no utility in preventing or countering the Communist-led riots in Bogotá, Caracas, and Tokyo. In each of these instances, the Kremlin, with an outlay of some thousands of dollars, was able to inflict massive political defeats on the United States.

There is a serious gap in our defenses, Mr. President. The measure we propose today is intended to close this gap. The establishment of a Freedom Academy will, for the first time, give us an agency entrusted with the single task of developing a science of counteraction against Communist subversion, and of training Americans, yes, and nationals of other free countries, in this science.

I urge my colleagues of the Senate to give this measure their most earnest consideration. Although we have given the matter much thought, I do not pretend—and I am sure this attitude is shared by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota—that the measure as we have presented it is perfect in every detail. Perhaps there are certain ways in which it can be improved. The essential matter is the establishment of a Freedom Academy and of a research and personnel training program. It is to this matter that I ask the Senators to direct their attention.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD at this point a brilliant article by Mr. James Burnham, which appears in the current issue of *Ordnance* magazine. Mr. Burnham is the author of several books on the cold war, and is generally recognized as one of our outstanding authorities on the subject.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STICKS, STONES, AND ATOMS

(While the United States has been stockpiling nuclear armament the Communists have been taking over country after country by the use of well-directed mobs equipped with only the most primitive weapons.)

(By James Burnham)

Not long after the United Nations patchwork expeditionary force was rushed—or, perhaps better, sucked—into the Congolese maelstrom, a striking news photograph was widely printed in the American press. It showed a truckload of soldiers about to start off for the Leopoldville suburbs. The men were part of a crack, British-trained unit of the Ghana Army.

As displayed in the picture, they were standing at attention in the truck, in two close, smartly drawn ranks. Suspended from the left arm of each soldier was a round shield, looking as if it had been snatched from a museum's medieval armor collection or from the prop room of a grand-opera company.

A friend of mine, an able and hardworking officer now at the Pentagon, noticed this picture and smiled. "The Sir Galahad weapon system. How's that for defensive armament in the nuclear age?" he asked sarcastically. He was much surprised when I commented: "It's not too bad, as a matter of fact. Better than most."

In these Ghani shields, a light, strong aluminum alloy has replaced the wood, leather, brass, and iron of ancient bucklers. Their purpose is protection against the sticks, rocks, and stones thrown by rioting mobs. In the nuclear age, stones function as weapons a good deal oftener than nuclear bombs and have won many more battles.

On both sides of the Iron Curtain many strategists believe that a curious law applies to the quantum jumps in firepower that have marked the weapons development of the past two decades. Beyond a certain limit—already passed by H-bombs—the more powerful the weapons become the less chance there is that they will be used. The reason for this is that fewer and fewer occasions would be taken to justify their use.

This is true even if one side had a monopoly. You are not going to start throwing H-bombs around to halt a border skirmish in the Cameroons or to block a change of government in Paraguay. When both sides possess the superpowerful weapons, the appropriate occasions are reduced to the brink of zero.

Indeed, many analysts are convinced that the only event that would be taken by either side as a sufficient motive for launching the most powerful weapons would be an attack with such weapons by the other side. If this puzzling conclusion is true, then an all-out unlimited war can take place only through faulty intelligence or an accidental launching.

In practice there seems to be a still more paradoxical corollary to this law of the inverse relation between the power and use of modern weapons. The more powerful the new weapons that exist, the more primitive the weapons that are actually used. Castro conquered Cuba with small arms, mimeograph machine and portable radio transmitters.

The rioting mobs of Tokyo, Seoul, and Ankara that overturned governments and forced the cancellation of the visit of the head of the most powerful nation in the world were armed with nothing more than their fists, the staves used to raise their placards, and paving bricks, plus a few knives and revolvers. In the Congo, we have gone back to clubs, rocks, blowguns, and magical spells.

It is terribly hard for Americans to understand something so simple. In uniform and out, we have been dutifully trying to learn about grandiose weapons systems made up of infinitely complex aircraft, bases, carriers, nuclear devices, ballistic missiles, nuclear submarines, electronic computers, inertial navigators, and what not.

On a single system of this sort—for example, *Polaris*, *Titan*, *Minuteman*, or the B-52 complex—we are ready to spend 5, 8, or 10 billions of dollars as well as immense quantities of manpower, effort, technical ingenuity, and scientific intelligence.

It is well and good and necessary that this should be. But at the same time we seem to have difficulty in focusing our attention, not to speak of our brains and dollars, on the weapons systems by which the struggle for the world is, in fact, being fought.

No. 24—2

We should more frequently remind ourselves that only two nuclear devices—crude, relatively low power types at that—have ever been used for combat purposes. In the 15 years since that parenthetical employment there have been many victories and defeats vast in scope and lasting in consequences. Power over many nations, whole regions of the earth, hundreds of millions of human beings, has changed hands—all without benefit of direct nuclear leverage.

Those rioting mobs of Tokyo, Seoul, and Ankara needed no A- or H-bombs, or planes or tanks or even guns to topple governments. Gandhi and Nehru had no strategic air force to help them drive the British Raj out of the Indian subcontinent.

Indonesia, Iraq, Cuba, Bolivia, Egypt, Guatemala, Vietnam, Cambodia, the Congo, the Rhodesias. * * * It is mostly sticks and stones, rifles and submachine guns—and the mobs of course: the mobs are a primary element of the weapons systems that have been deciding most battles and campaigns of the struggle for the world.

Words also, of course—the words of agitation and propaganda, zeroed in on minds—for in these battles of our age, unlike the old nursery rhyme, words as well as sticks and stones can break our bones.

From 1945 until some time after 1950 we possessed a monopoly in operative nuclear arms and thus overwhelming superiority in overall firepower. But it is in those same years that our enemy made his greatest conquests since 1917, seizing eastern Europe, with 100 million inhabitants and mainland China, with 600 million.

The weapons systems that he employed for these achievements were based, not on physical firepower, but on psychological and political warfare methods, both defensive and offensive.

Defensively, it was necessary for him to counteract, negate, and sterilize our nuclear capability. Communist reasoning never forgets that a weapon—any weapon—is only a powerless bundle of matter apart from human minds and wills.

The biggest bomb ever built or building is less than David's slingshot without a mind and will and arm able and ready to use it.

With atomic capability added to our force already in being in 1945, we were in a position, materially speaking, to enforce our views, to reduce the Soviet threat to manageable proportions, and thus to guarantee for a reasonable future both national security and world peace. This possibility conflicted with the Communist objective of world domination, so the Communists struck back, hard, brilliantly, and successfully. The main impetus of their strike was directed against the minds and wills of men.

Their agents, dupes, and ideas were already present in many strata of American life, including scientific circles, the institutions that affect public opinion, and certain of the agencies of Government. They were thus in a position from the very beginning to counteract our nuclear projects and capability—from the inside as well as through external pressures and diplomacy.

The main thrust of the first Communist reply to our nuclear weapons monopoly was thus psychopolitical, against the minds of the men who were making the weapons (technicians and scientists) and the men who controlled it (the leaders of government and public opinion).

The Communist objective was to deprive the United States of the political benefit of its nuclear capability, to denature the bombs, not by the physical process described in the textbooks, but by political, psychological, and moral means. In this case, as more generally, the Communists acted to confuse and disorient their enemy, to en-

tangle him in contradictory policies, and to destroy his will to resist.

Under this defensive psychic screen, which successfully counterweighed their enemy's material superiority, the Communists went ahead systematically with the phased subjugation of the east European nations. At the same time, in a theater still more vast, they carried through the conquest of mainland China and its absorption into an expanded Soviet Empire.

Although there was, of course, fighting, some of it rather large-scale, the China campaign was essentially a political-warfare operation. (I am using the term "political warfare" in its most general sense, as covering all types of agitation, propaganda, subversion, economic manipulation, rioting, terror, diversionary diplomacy, guerrilla and paramilitary actions, etc.: everything, in sum, short of the employment of the main formal armed forces.)

The Communists' polwar campaign for the conquest of China opened in 1920. It was completed in 1949 without the mass intervention of the main armed forces and with a total expenditure of probably less than half a billion dollars.

Although most professional military men, unlike their civilian counterparts, know that we are in a fight, I get the impression that very few of them can take a weapon system seriously unless it comprises a lot of firepower. They can analyze learnedly the merits of strategic manned bombers versus submarine-carried Polaris versus railroad-borne Minutemen.

They will thoughtfully debate the role of conventional limited-warfare forces. They can envisage, without qualms, spending \$10 or \$20 billion to develop weapon systems based on one or another or all of these concepts, together with the assignment of personnel and time and resources that go with money of that order.

But if you suggest—as I have often done in lectures at the various war colleges—spending any such sum, or a tenth such a sum, for systems based on Blanquist cadres, crowd manipulation, guerrillas, psychological warfare, paramilitary operations, subversion, bribery, infiltration, with specialized, mobile, ranger-type units in active supporting reserve—in short, if you suggest all-out political warfare (polwar)—the best response you can ordinarily hope for is a skeptical smile.

Yet it is the polwar weapons systems that have been winning all the battles. What good are Atlas and Polaris in Laos, Cuba, Algeria, the Congo, or in the swarming streets of Tokyo, Ankara, Jakarta, and Budapest?

It has been demonstrated over and over again in the past 15 years—indeed, since 1917—that modern polwar systems can smash governments and armies, and take over territory, peoples, and nations. Isn't a weapon system that can defeat the British, Dutch, and French armies, that can seize Czechoslovakia, China, and Cuba, worth spending a few billions on? The real worth of any weapon system, in the last analysis, should be measured by what it can accomplish, not by its size, complexity, cost, or physical firepower.

Naturally I am not suggesting that a polwar system should operate in a military vacuum. B-52's, Atlas and Polaris missiles are not being used, but the fact that they might be is a solid foundation for every kind of conflict operation. An effective limited-warfare arm, present always as a threat and ready for appropriate use, naturally strengthens any sort of political-warfare campaign.

A conflict apparatus adapted to the mid-20th-century struggle for the world consists of three primary forces, elements, or arms:

1. The massive retaliatory (deterrent) force, which remains as the ultimate reserve.
2. The mobile, limited-warfare (brush-fire) force. This, too, remains normally in reserve but in more active posture than the retaliatory force, ready for quick intervention in any area where security or interest requires the direct presence or use of military power.

3. The political-warfare force. This force—which by its nature includes a multitude of activities and agencies, both governmental and civilian—is the active vanguard. Under the shield of the retaliatory force, and backed up by the limited-warfare force, with which it collaborates, the polwar force continuously engages in the day-by-day operations of the protracted conflict.

True political warfare, as understood and practiced by our enemy, is not mere rivalry or competition or conflict of some vague kind. Political warfare is a form of war. It is strategic in nature. Its objective, like that of every other form of war, is to impose one's own will on the opponent, to destroy the opponent's will to resist. In simplest terms, it aims to conquer the opponent.

Within the frame of that general objective, the specific objective of each specific polwar campaign is always defined in terms of power. The purpose in conducting polwar operations is always to increase one's power in some definite way or to decrease the power of the opponent. In either case, positive or negative, the aim is to alter the power equilibrium in one's favor.

The power objective may be grandiose—conquest of a nation, disintegration of an empire; or the minor takeover of a trade union, scaring a parliament into defeating a bill, or the sabotage of a factory. But whether big or small, the objective is always power.

These are the principles in terms of which our enemy has planned and mounted his polwar operations since the summer of 1903 when, through the founding of the Bolshevik faction, he launched his enterprise for the conquest of the world. Moreover, although he realizes that polwar in some instances may not be able by itself to reach a decision and may have to be supplemented by full-scale military measures, he is convinced that in at least some cases political warfare alone can bring the decision.

By now he has ample evidence to support this belief. Czechoslovakia has been conquered twice in this century—once by Hitler and once by Stalin—by a purely polwar campaign, without the commitment of major armed forces. China also, as we have noted, was won essentially by polwar methods. By these same methods American nuclear testing has been stopped dead for more than 2 critical years.

Not a year passes but that these methods do not smash several governments. And right now they are swinging an island at our strategic doorstep into our enemy's power system.

Although we are in fact spending several billion dollars yearly on nonmilitary phases of the cold war, very few of these go for what can properly be called political warfare in the true sense—the sense accepted by our enemy. Our professional military leaders have traditionally regarded political warfare (or psychological warfare, as it is more usually and inadequately termed) as being merely an auxiliary and relatively minor supplement to military operation.

The cold-war activities of nonmilitary agencies—foreign aid, truth (or information) campaigns, student (or cultural) exchange, even much of the clandestine activity of CIA—are for the most part not true polwar operations. They are not political warfare because we do not really think of them as literally war.

We are trying to get the better of a competitor and opponent, certainly; to block certain of his moves, divert others, influence him to make certain changes in his behavior and policies. But we are not trying to impose our will on him in any general way, and certainly we are not trying to defeat him.

In other words, we do not conceive our cold-war operations strategically. Often they have no clearly defined objective at all. When they do have an objective, this is seldom understood in terms of power.

In a genuine polwar system, foreign aid is only a key to open a national door for the conduct of field operations; information and propaganda are not a school lesson to teach pale truths about how nice one is, but a psychological weapon to undermine, divert, and injure one's enemy; student scholarships are not a charity handout to the needy, but a cover for training activist cadres.

Because we decline to fight genuine, strategically conceived warfare, a considerable part of our billions in foreign-aid dollars has been wasted, squandered on useless projects, filtered into the pockets of corrupt local residents, or used to build up industry for the enemy or his friends to inherit.

Let me point the contrast by returning in conclusion to the specific matter of riots and mob action, bearing in mind that this is only one of a hundred polwar fields. How many men and women (women are exceedingly important in crowd management) do we have in training today for the mission of exploiting crowds, mobs, and street riots to our political advantage? Do we have any?

How many persons in the agencies of our Government have ever made a thorough study of the historical, psychological, and technical problems of handling mobs and mass riots? Is there even a single one?

The Bolshevik approach to mobs, riots, and command of the streets is very serious indeed. In his design for the revolutionary party—the conflict apparatus—Lenin, like Bakunin and Nechaev before him, incorporated the ideas of Louis Blanqui, a French revolutionist who lived from 1805 to 1881. Blanqui first became prominent in the 1830 revolution and devoted the rest of his life, in and out of prison, to revolutionary conspiracy.

He believed that the key to successful revolt was the development of a small, secret cadre organization. Normally the cadres would remain underground, abstaining from political affairs. They were to be trained in the manipulation of crowds and the use of small arms and improvised weapons (sticks and stones) accessible to crowds.

In the 1848 and 1870 revolutions in France, the practical cogency of Blanqui's ideas was proved. In 1870 it was his cadres who were primarily responsible for the overthrow of the Third Empire and the establishment of the Paris Commune—the first revolutionary, proletarian-led dictatorship.

During the past 2 years there have been mass riots in the streets of many major cities of the non-Communist world: Caracas, Montevideo, Lima, Baghdad, Havana, Cape-town, Léopoldville, Algiers, Seoul, Ankara, Tokyo, Vientiane, San Salvador, and Saigon, among others. Nearly all have been directed against political friends of the United States or against policies favorable to the United States.

Besides promoting fiercely anti-American attitudes, these riots played an essential part in the overthrow of no less than eight governments that were firm allies of the United States: in Venezuela, Iraq, Cuba, South Korea, Turkey, Tokyo, El Salvador, Laos. The governments were overthrown just as thoroughly as by outright military defeat. Unguided mobs may shake but they do not overthrow regimes. They do not spontane-

ously produce consistent slogans and select strategic targets.

The coordinated operations of these recent riots, and their high measure of success, are the product of trained Bolshevik neo-Blanquists.

In the next year or so the communized Government of Cuba* will either be overthrown, or the enemy will move on to the staged takeover of Central and South America. In the next year or so, non-Communist regimes must retain power in the Indo-Chinese successor states, or the enemy will move on to the staged takeover of the entire Southeast Asian peninsula.

For both operations, H-bombs are useless. Is it not obvious that we are not likely to meet either of these challenges unless we decide to lift our Cinderella political-warfare system from the scullery floor where we have so far left her in rags and tatters?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the Senator from Illinois, one of the cosponsors of the bill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am very happy to join in sponsoring a bill to establish a Freedom Academy. I should like to emphasize that, in addition to providing for exposing the tactics of the various Communist Parties, which is a necessary task, the measure also calls for stressing the positive and constructive features of democracy. I regard it as an essential part of any anti-Communist work that, while we should properly emphasize the great hypocrisies and cruelties within the Communist system, we nevertheless, should stress the healing and benevolent qualities of democracy, which permit us to make changes, without violence, inside our Nation. It is because this measure provides for constructive and positive features that I take special pleasure in serving as a cosponsor.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. SMATHERS. I should like to associate myself with the remarks made by the able senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS]. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this particular proposal. I cannot help believing that the necessity for our being on the affirmative in the battle against communism is long past due. I understand the proposed Academy will train talented young people, and enable them to get the information and background not only with respect to the weaknesses of the Communist system, but how best to battle the dogmas and doctrines of the Communists and at the same time present to the uncommitted areas and peoples of the world the great virtues of our democratic system, and to make them wish they had such a system in their countries. I commend the Senator from South Dakota for his leadership in this field.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator from Florida.

Mr. President, before closing I should like to commend to the attention of my colleagues an article entitled "What We Must Do To Win the Cold War," which appears in the February 1961 issue of the Reader's Digest. This article states a most persuasive case for the Freedom

Academy and urges its establishment. I sincerely extend my appreciation and applause to Charles Stevenson for writing this timely article and to the editors of the Reader's Digest for publishing it.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this article be printed at this point in the RECORD immediately following my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be received; and, without objection, it will lie on the desk as requested, and the article referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 822) to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy to research and develop an integrated, operational science to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism and to train Government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science, introduced by Mr. MUNDT (for himself and other Senators), was received, and read twice by its title.

The article presented by Mr. MUNDT is as follows:

WHAT WE MUST DO TO WIN THE COLD WAR (By Charles Stevenson)

President Kennedy vowed before the election that under his leadership the United States would at last seize the initiative in the cold war. Nothing is more imperative. But before he can even make a start, our new Commander in Chief must face up to a shocking and bitter reality. He must capture control of the defiant, faceless bureaucracy firmly entrenched in Washington. Its weak-kneed efforts to merely hold off communism instead of fighting back are leading us to defeat even as it tries to keep the White House from interfering.

The situation is not new. In 1955, Nelson Rockefeller was secretly assigned by President Eisenhower to try to make our arthritic cold-war machinery work. He recalls his mission "was bitterly resented by the State Department," which regarded this White House interest as an invasion of their authority and responsibility. After 8 months he quit in frustration. "You could just go against a wall of opposition so far, and then it was useless," he says.

Since the days when we were told that the Chinese Communists were mere agrarian reformers, too many men in the State Department have persisted in the dangerously wistful belief that if we don't annoy the Reds they are bound to see how well-meaning we are and will stop harassing us. Incredibly, this philosophy has infected the highest quarters of our Government. And all the while the Kremlin, teasing our naive desire to reach an understanding, through the outworn tradition of polite negotiation, toys with us by hot and cold maneuvering as it inches forward toward total victory.

Compare our cold war operations with the deadly, single-minded efficiency of Soviet maneuvering. Typical was the way the Communists brought about the Japanese riots that forced cancellation of President Eisenhower's trip to Japan last summer and caused the United States to lose face all over the world.

Under Khrushchev's direction Japan had already been infiltrated. Trained native Japanese cadres were sent to gain control of the Japanese Teachers' Union with its 500,000 members. Soon Japanese children were being taught that the U.S.S.R. is their real motherland, the United States their bloodthirsty imperialistic foe. Other trained agitators were sent into the Japanese col-

leges to take over the Zengakuren, a students' organization with shock troops that beat up uncooperative students and professors. Communists also eased their way into Sohyo, the country's labor federation of 3,500,000 members, and into Japan's powerful Socialist Party. Six months before the riots, 88 key Japanese Communists were smuggled into the country from Russia and China, where they had spent 8 years in Communist academies learning to manipulate men's minds.

As the time for Eisenhower's visit neared, millions of dollars were smuggled into Japan from Russia and China, and poured into more than a hundred front groups to build war fears to the point of hysteria. The value of the yen was unsettled by Communist currency manipulations in Hong Kong. Red radio stations blanketed Japan with hate-America propaganda. The Russian foreign office sent out thinly veiled threats of atomic annihilation.

The first demonstrations by students, along with workers paid a half-day's wages by agitators, started peacefully enough. By nightfall, however, the leaders had them lined up 20 abreast in a phalanx of locked arms. Whistles blowing a rhythmic beat brought chants of "down with the treaty" and the earth literally shook under their dogtrot. Day after day the performance was repeated. None of it was spontaneous. It was a massive action planned and carried out by professionals, and amateurs were no match for them.

This is cold war, Russian style. They have a name for it—agitprop—planned conflict in which agitation, propaganda, trade, diplomacy, threats of war and promises of peace are coordinated in an ever changing, worldwide offensive. It is all masterminded in the Kremlin from a cold war operations center—a vast chamber with floor-to-ceiling maps on which are displayed, country by country, the latest summations of mounting tensions. Here, just down the hall from his own office, Premier Khrushchev confers daily with Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan, with Party Secretary Mikhail Suslov who runs Moscow's international network of professional agitators, and with his other cold-war commanders. One word sends a vast array of flexible cold war weapons into an integrated action to brainwash entire nations.

How do our own cold war planners respond? In the case of the Japanese riots, the Communist machinations were well known in Washington, via intelligence reports. But the information never received proper consideration at the White House.

As far back as 1948, before he became Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles called for establishment of a new executive-department dedicated to the task of nonmilitary defense, just as the Secretary of Defense heads military defense. Its goal: to contest the Communist Party at the level where it is winning its victories. It was to be a flexible organization that would conceive winning strategy and make the swift day-to-day, hour-to-hour decisions, for in this era of sudden crises, the difference between victory and defeat depends as much on split-second maneuvering as in a shooting war.

Instead, we are doing the same old things in the same old way. We have today at least eight different foreign-aid funds, separately administered by six different agencies, through which we have handed out 50 billion dollars just since the Korean War. (Our every setback abroad is habitually blamed on the insufficiency of these funds, totally ignoring the fact that the Reds for their success have similarly paid out only a billion and a half.) There is a U.S. Information Agency, whose officials have been so eager not to cause offense that a radio commentary critical of Communist philosophy was canceled even as it got started. There are four separate intelligence services:

Army, Navy, Air Force and Central Intelligence Agency. And there is our sprawling State Department with 14,000 employees, which insists on being the top layer in this bureaucratic cake.

In theory this complex is guided by the National Security Council. Cold-war problems are tackled by the NSC's Planning Board. But the board's members are the assistant secretaries of the several departments of government, each committed to its own vested interests. Faced with the desirability that their recommendations be unanimously agreed upon, basic decisions are anonymously watered down and anonymously rewritten time and again to avoid conflict. Only after endless haggling are these documents, passing as America's new proposed grand strategy, offered to the NSC.

"Thus a passive resistance develops to dilute recommendations up to the President and downward to the agencies charged with carrying out policy," says Col. William R. Kintner, the Army's psychological-warfare expert, who has worked with the NSC structure and studied our cold-war machinery. "There is a natural tendency to sidestep and hedge, to evade problems and react to situations with half measures haltingly applied. And progress reports to the President (on which he must rely for information about the world situation) often tend to conceal lack of progress."

Gordon Gray, former Secretary of the Army, has testified that policy papers, after weeks of writing and rewriting, had to be discussed by the Council for 5 more weeks before receiving final approval. The result of this cumbersome procedure, explains W. W. Rostow, professor of economic history at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is that "American policymaking consists of a series of reactions to major crises. Having failed to define, to anticipate, and to deal with forces loose in the world, we suddenly find ourselves face to face with the problems never recognized or swept under the rug."

What happens when our policy is finally determined? Once a week the Vice President, Secretaries of State, Defense, and Treasury, the Budget Director and the Director of Civil Defense and Mobilization constitute themselves as the NSC itself, and for a couple of hours advise their chairman, the President, about the cold war. Once he makes a final judgment they leave it up to another subordinate bureaucratic group, the Operations Coordinating Board—which has no enforcement authority—to try to persuade departments to carry out the decision. Even the personal assistant to the President, appointed to coordinate the entire setup in his name, had to cajole department heads even to attend a conference. Nobody has concise directive authority.

It is bad enough that the National Security Council system is inoperable. But the shocking fact is that it is sometimes used by the State Department bureaucracy as an instrument for actually defying the White House. In 1956, for example, State so balked at producing the facts required to bring a desperately needed reappraisal of our Middle East policies before the President that another of Ike's top cold war lieutenants quit in disgust. Shortly afterward we were caught in stunned surprise when our British, French and Israeli allies attacked Nasser's Egypt.

More recently, when Cuban dictator Fidel Castro visited the United States in 1959, the FBI rushed to the State Department a devastating report on the growing seriousness of Communist influences around him. Other similar FBI reports followed. But State deliberately suppressed this information. At one point State even refused to allow Cuba to be brought up for discussion before the President in NSC meeting. The subject

finally got to NSC attention only because a Presidential assistant personally prevailed upon CIA Director Allen Dulles to provide a special NSC briefing as to what was happening in Cuba. State then had to reply.

In one country a few hundred thousand dollars would have helped a genuine but impoverished democratic party to provide transportation so the people could get to the polls to vote down Communist influences taking them over. We were too shy to supply the money for this purpose. Yet today that country's Communist-infiltrated government is given millions in a single year as foreign aid.

Even stranger has been the refusal of the bureaucracy to permit the distribution abroad of pamphlets designed to show how government based on personal liberties is superior to communism. The pamphlets were developed at the order of Adm. Arthur Radford as a study course called Militant Liberty for American servicemen. However, when it was proposed that these ideas be made available to other countries opposing communism, NSC's anonymous bureaucratic planners even refused to let the subject come up for NSC discussion. Then in 1957 Ecuador appealed directly for Spanish translations of Militant Liberty to be used in a citizenship program for the Ecuadorian police and armed forces and possibly in the schools.

"Along with technological aid we also need ideologic aid," begged El Comercio, one of the country's leading newspapers. Ecuador's President was enthusiastic. Our Ambassador in Ecuador traveled to Washington to push the plan. Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and Undersecretary of State Robert Murphy had already given approval. But the necessary final State Department clearances never came.

A year and a half later Ecuador's Minister of National Defense sought action through a formal note. "Efforts are being made with systematic persistence by a considerable number of Communist agents to distort the thinking of members of the armed forces in Ecuador," he warned. He pleaded that the study course was needed to oppose vigorously the dialectics and sophistries of Communist propaganda which were creating uneasiness and confusion.

Still nothing happened. "The program was just killed by inaction," says Admiral Radford. "Some bureaucrats just have a horror of initiating things." And thus by timidity and bureaucratic buckpassing, our State Department killed an opportunity to come to the aid of a friendly country that wanted our help in combating communism. Partly for lack of this help, Ecuador today has a tough problem of communism on its hands.

There is one obvious solution to the mess the bureaucracy has made. As early as 1953 studies of the National Security Council complex called for a person to sit at the President's right hand along with a staff of specialists in diplomatic warfare, propaganda, intelligence, trade warfare, foreign aid support, and military liaison to counter Communist intrusions.

These classified studies are still locked up, but their substance was openly voiced by courageous citizens. On April 5, 1955, Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff appealed for a Cold War Strategy Board with a Chief of Cabinet rank. "In gearing to fight a hot war," he said, "we call in military strategists and tacticians. Likewise, we must have specialists to fight a cold war . . . a mobilization of hard, knowledgeable anti-Communists who understand the issues and for whom it is not merely a job but a dedication."

At one time President Eisenhower, realizing the desperate need for a sort of super Cabinet chief to ride herd on foot-dragging departments, wanted to put whip-cracking Gen. W. Bedell Smith to the job, even with-

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out portfolio. But Smith was then in poor health, and Ike hesitated to impose on him. Another time Vice President Nixon was suggested for the task, but the State Department prevented any appointment.

Throughout 1955, Nelson Rockefeller served at the White House with his main assignment to try to develop a more imaginative, creative approach to carrying out National Security Council policy. Rockefeller was shocked by the slow, even sluggish operation of the whole setup. He was distressed by the vast number of State Department personnel who, by dominating the NSC machinery, were able to avoid unbiased evaluation of their actions. When he sought to obtain independent reports for the President as to the true state of the Department's progress, its officials complained to the President that he was "causing trouble" and "raising havoc with an orderly and effective procedure."

Moreover, Rockefeller was dismayed by the lack of centralized, up-to-the-minute information as to what was going on in the cold war around the world. When he sought to remedy this by having a room set aside where maps, visual aids and copies of the latest cables and analyses would be quickly available to the President and his aides, State blocked him. At wit's end he offered to finance the entire operation himself. At that, he was informed that it would be illegal to spend private money in a public building. After thus failing to get through the bureaucracy's quagmire of negativism, Rockefeller could only resign.

The bitter opposition to Rockefeller is easy to understand, because his approach does not harbor incompetence. He says: "We have to get fast honest appraisals and have the courage to admit something is not working, the policy is not right, the program is not right, and revise it."

Yet the stupidity that results when individuals become cogs in a vast bureaucratic machine bent on self-protection and maintaining the status quo is compounded by an even more fundamental weakness: the appalling lack of understanding of communism's complex tactics by key people handling our foreign policy, propaganda, economic aid and oversea relations. "If there's a single denominator," testified C. D. Jackson, one of those who put in time as a Presidential assistant trying to straighten out the cold war mess, "it is the difficulty of finding Americans who have the elementary knowledge of the conflict and how to go about our end of this very real and continuing war."

The obvious remedy proposed by such students of communism both in and out of government is a Freedom Academy that will be democracy's answer to the Communist training schools for the tactics of world revolution, a West Point to teach our own cold war managers, diplomats, ICA, and USIA people the full scope of the Communist strategy and to equip them with the ways to carry the war back to the Communists and win. It would also offer post-graduate courses to high school and university teachers, and would be open to any of the 50,000 foreign students in American colleges.

The idea was brushed off by the Washington bureaucracy, but important Congressmen, both Republicans and Democrats, came to its aid and introduced Freedom Academy bills in House and Senate. The Senate Judiciary Committee, unanimously reporting out the measure, described it as one of the most important ever introduced in Congress, a practical, fundamental approach to our national survival.

"We have failed to recognize sufficiently that it takes more than dollars to win the cold war," added Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of

South Dakota. "It takes individuals who have been trained."

"The amateurs will always lose against the professionals," said Representative WALTER H. JUMP, of Minnesota. "I want some professionals on our side."

Nevertheless, because of departmental opposition, it was not possible to slip the measure through the Senate until the closing hours of the last session; then it died because the House failed to act. "The horrible thing is that there is a complete failure to comprehend the menace of communism even among many Members of Congress," Senator THOMAS J. DONN, of Connecticut, Democratic vice chairman of the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee, told me. And his record shows that he is no Red witch hunter.

So for failure to fight back, the net is pulled in on us. The Communists set up more revolutionary training schools not only in Latin America and in Asia but in the United States itself. Riots and revolutions sweep Latin America. Our southeast Asian allies slip toward neutralism, and with Communists in their governments teeter toward complete Red takeover despite vast amounts of foreign aid. Even our attempts to bring peace to the Congo through the United Nations are impeded by Communist influences in that organization, and this despite the fact that we are producing the millions of extra dollars needed to keep the show going and finance the U.N. effort.

Meantime, we bobble every chance to score against our opponents. Last fall our Government knew that Cuba's Castro had paid in advance for Harlem lodgings. Yet when he stalked out of a midtown New York hotel crying he wasn't wanted, our information services remained politely aloof instead of exposing his lie to the world while Havana, Moscow and Peiping had a propaganda field day all over Latin America.

The way to stop this sort of defeat by default is already on the record. We must set up a cold war commander, as proposed back in 1953 and 1955, working in close consultation with the President and heading a small professional staff of men skilled in total political warfare. They must have whatever authority is needed over the current operating departments to see that their orders are carried out instantaneously. Executive efficiency is necessary if we are to win the very real war in which we are engaged.

We must also have a Freedom Academy. Its first task will be to acquaint our diplomats and department officials with the facts of life about Communist aims, strategy and tactics for as the congressional report on the Academy stated: "The various agencies and bureaus can be shuffled and reshuffled * * * but until they are staffed by highly motivated personnel who have been systematically and intensively trained in the vast and complex field of total political warfare, we can expect little improvement in our situation." The Academy will graduate highly motivated elite cadres for freedom. Then with such personnel, we can develop a science of counteraction against Communist subversion. We can, for example, begin to counter such Communist-front techniques as anti-colonial and anti-imperialist campaigns with more valid anti-violence, anti-censorship, anti-suppression-of-speech campaigns.

Thus organized, with bold imaginative leadership and with more freedom fighters ever strengthening our framework, we can at last begin to win some battles of our own and not just in the free world, but among the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. FULBRIGHT subsequently said: Mr. President, I call the attention of the distinguished minority leader to a bill which has been introduced today by

the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] entitled "A bill to create a Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy."

I have not read any of the bill. It has just been introduced. However, I believe it is the same bill, or certainly is very similar to the bill, introduced in the last session, S. 1689, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

When the bill was introduced last summer, I said then that I wished to serve notice that if a similar bill were introduced in the next Congress I expected to raise the question of jurisdiction and to insist that a bill of a similar nature be referred for consideration to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The object of the bill is clearly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is concerned with developing ways and means to combat the spread of communism. That is the principal object of many such bills, including the foreign-aid bill.

I ask unanimous consent, if the minority leader agrees with my statement, that the bill be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, first let me address a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair.

So far as the Chair or the Parliamentarian may know, was there a specific request made today that the bill be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, rather than to the Committee on Foreign Relations?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not know.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill which was introduced last year was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It was referred to that committee last year. It went to the Committee on the Judiciary without my having had notice to that effect. I had never heard of the bill until it appeared on the floor.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The introducer of the bill is the senior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. And certain cosponsors.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Speaking only for myself, as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, I would have no objection to a reference of the bill. However, I think I am duty bound to ascertain from the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] whether he has any objection to having the bill referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which the distinguished Senator from Arkansas is the chairman.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I gave notice last summer, in the course of the debate on the floor, that I would expect to take this action if the bill were reintroduced this year.

I give notice now that I think the bill should be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It has not been referred to committee yet. I ask that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations because I am confident that

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the subject matter of the bill clearly brings it within the jurisdiction of that committee.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I shall try to get an expression on this question without delay, probably before the afternoon is over, or within the next 30 minutes. Perhaps we can get an answer to the question. Then the bill may be referred to the Senator's committee, if that is the wish.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Arkansas withhold his request?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. In case the matter cannot be concluded, what will be the action of the Chair in referring the bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the bill would be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, unless it was, by unanimous consent, referred elsewhere.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I had reserved the right to object. Without being offensive to the Senator, I think I should object until I can check further into the matter.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I will withdraw my request. I want to know what the status is without my request. I will reserve my request until the Senator from Illinois has had an opportunity to confer with the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I think the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] may be a cosponsor of the bill.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the bill in question was passed by the Senate last year. I happened to be walking through the Chamber at the time. Only two or three Senators were on the floor. It was passed by the Senate at that time.

I could not agree more with the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. The bill very properly should be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I myself have in a bill which, in certain aspects, reads on the details of the bill in question.

I hope the bill will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. That is where it belongs.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have since conferred with the minority leader. He informs me that the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] has no objection. Therefore, I renew my request that the bill be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the bill will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

UTILIZATION RESEARCH PROGRAM FOR THE DEPRESSED LEAD-ZINC INDUSTRY

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill which calls for a major acceleration in research by the Bureau of Mines to develop new uses for lead and zinc. It is my hope and expectation that this new research program will result in increasing the market for lead and zinc prod-

ucts, which would do much to assist the depressed lead-zinc industry.

Last year, I sponsored a bill prepared by the Emergency Lead-Zinc Committee, which would have imposed flexible tariffs on imports of lead and zinc at a sufficient level so that miners could have jobs and so mining operations could make a modest profit. Unfortunately, Congress refused to take favorable action on this meritorious bill. However, another bill of a similar nature is being developed, which I intend to join in sponsoring when it is introduced in the Senate, and I hope Congress and the President will give it their approval.

The bill which I have introduced today is designed to supplement the tariff approach. In our preoccupation with the problem of imports, we tend to overlook the fact that lead and zinc have been losing some of their markets to competitive materials.

The lead-zinc industries in 1958 sharply accelerated their research programs, recognizing somewhat belatedly that producers of competitive materials were doing extensive research designed to develop new uses of their materials. Lead and zinc producers in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Great Britain, South America, and Australia are all cooperating in these programs.

Lead projects begun include research on the use of lead in ceramics, lead cable sheathing, heat emissive properties of the metal, lead alloys, the semiconductor properties of lead compounds, and also lead as a shielding material for nuclear reactors. Research projects on zinc include new finishes for zinc die castings, development of improved zinc die casting alloys, corrosion of galvanized hot water tanks, wet storage stain of galvanized sheet, cathode protection of marine tankers, improvements in zinc lithographic plates, zinc battery cans, and exposure tests of exterior house paints containing zinc oxide.

The Department of the Interior, under the Eisenhower administration, has engaged in research directed toward reducing costs of mining and milling. These studies have covered basic and applied aspects of rock drilling and ground support, improvements in recovery procedures, and studies in extractive metallurgy. Projects planned but not yet initiated include fundamental research in the field of zinc base die casting alloys, and expansion of the use of electrolysis. My bill is designed, among other things, to increase research along these lines, which might very well open up new markets for lead and zinc.

In addition to acceleration of the research program by the Bureau of Mines, my bill would give authority to the Department of the Interior to contract for research—authority which the Department does not now have. In the case of coal, the coal industry felt that such a program was needed and supported legislation for the establishment of an Office of Coal Research. It may be that when hearings are held on my bill, the lead and zinc industries may wish to support an amendment to create an Office of Lead and Zinc Research. I am certainly open to such a suggestion.

The bill provides for the creation of an advisory committee from the lead and zinc industries, so that there will be no duplication of research effort. I am indebted to Robert Bernick, the astute Salt Lake Tribune business editor and mining expert, for alerting me to the great possibilities of an expanded lead-zinc research program, contained in an article which he wrote late last year. Similarly, Royce A. Hardy, a former Assistant Secretary of the Interior, gave me his full cooperation and assistance in development of the bill and the approach which it embodies.

I ask unanimous consent to include at the close of my remarks a list of research projects now being conducted by the Lead Industries Association and the American Zinc Institute, together with a list of seven projects which have been considered by the Bureau of Mines but deferred because other work was given higher priority, and the text of my bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and lists will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 828) to encourage and stimulate the production and conservation of lead and zinc in the United States through research and development by authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to contract for lead and zinc research, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. BENNETT, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior may—

- (1) develop through research, new and more efficient methods of preparing and utilizing lead and zinc;
- (2) contract for, sponsor, cosponsor, and promote the coordination of, research with recognized interested groups;
- (3) establish technical advisory committees composed of recognized experts in various fields of lead and zinc research to assist in the examination and evaluation of research progress and of all research proposals and contracts and to insure the avoidance of duplication of research; and
- (4) cooperate to the fullest extent possible with other departments, agencies, and independent establishments of the Federal Government and with State governments, and with all other interested agencies, governmental and nongovernmental.

SEC. 2. (a) Any advisory committee appointed under the provisions of this Act shall keep minutes of each meeting, which shall contain as a minimum (1) the name of each person attending such meeting, (2) a copy of the agenda, and (3) a record of all votes or polls taken during the meeting.

(b) A copy of any such minutes or of any report made by any such committee after final action has been taken thereon by the Secretary shall be available to the public upon request and payment of the cost of furnishing such copy.

(c) Members of any advisory committee appointed from private life under authority of this section shall each receive \$50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of their duties as a member of such advisory committee. Such members shall also be entitled to travel expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence at the rates authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of

otherwise, and do such other things as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution; and

(d) avail itself of the assistance and advice of the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the National Capital Regional Planning Council, and such Commissions and Council shall, upon request, render such assistance and advice.

SEC. 3. There is authorized to be appropriated not more than \$10,000 to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, this joint resolution is identical with Senate Joint Resolution 152, introduced last year, passed by the Senate, and considered by House Committee on Administration. The interest shown by the cosponsors today is heartening; I believe that we should work as early as possible in 1961 to make this project come into being.

The purpose of the resolution can be expressed in a very few words: it would establish a commission, including former Presidents of the United States if they wish to participate, to consider the many suggestions for a memorial to Woodrow Wilson in Washington, D.C. Two general alternatives would be considered: the so-called nonfunctional monument and the functional, "Woodrow Wilson House" type of memorial building or structure.

One strong declaration for a non-functional monument was expressed forcefully by the Woodrow Wilson Centennial Commission in its final report of 1957. After noting that a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Bridge across the Potomac was to be constructed, the report added:

But the Commission, feeling that one important thing still remains to be done to make the tribute to Wilson complete, recommends that Congress take such action as may be necessary to assure the erection in Washington of a permanent memorial structure to Woodrow Wilson comparable in beauty, sweep, and grandeur to those already dedicated to Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. This recommendation is a product of careful consideration on the part of the Commission. It stems from an abiding conviction that Wilson's eminence as a scholar, educator, statesman, and world leader, and especially his contribution to the Presidency itself as an institution, place him high on the list of great American Presidents.

I have also received many other suggestions for a completely different kind of monument, one which would serve a special purpose the year round. Mr. President, at the time of introduction last year, I introduced lengthy quotations from letters and statements giving ideas for such a functional memorial and for other types as well. I ask unanimous consent to have a résumé of those remarks printed at the end of my remarks here today.

One of the most interesting suggestions calls for a Wilson International Center in Washington, one which might well be coordinated with the activities of the Washington International Center of the American Council on Education. Visitors from abroad are introduced to American life at the Center; they participate in lectures, group discussion,

and other activities. Dr. Francis Sayre, son-in-law of President Wilson, is particularly interested in this approach.

Mr. President, the Commission will have the difficult but very challenging task of deciding the form that the memorial could take, and Congress will then act on its recommendations. The point of today's discussion is not the form of the memorial, but the need for it.

In our Capital City today, the visitor may see the Star-Spangled Banner in a huge glass case at the Smithsonian Institution or the Declaration of Independence at the Archives Building. Within a 10-minute automobile ride he can see the memorials to Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Soon, other memorials will honor more recent Presidents.

But, with the exception of his quiet resting place at the Washington National Cathedral, we have no similarly accessible monument to the greatness of Woodrow Wilson. He is remembered in our hearts and minds, and in the hearts and minds of millions throughout the world. But we need more than memory; we need a symbol, too.

To satisfy this need, we should have a memorial to Wilson, and we should have it in the very near future, because Wilson's words and wisdom are particularly important to us and to the world during this troubled decade.

Woodrow Wilson was more than an inspiring college president, a reform governor of New Jersey, and a courageous President. He was an authentic 20th century voice for this Nation; we have yet to match our deeds to his vision.

Today, we wish to let the world know that we seek peace; that we understand the "revolution of rising expectations" in underdeveloped nations; and that we have, in Wilson's words, "a great commitment of America to the service of humanity."

Unless we can persuade great numbers of persons throughout the world that such goals are our goals, we shall fail in one of our most important duties; we will fail to inspire; we will fail to express our faith in the basic strength of the democratic idea.

It seems obvious that a memorial to Wilson would help dramatize our dedication to Wilson's principles. It seems equally obvious that the time for that project is now. In fact, it seems little short of incredible that we do not already have a memorial to the great man who served as our 28th President.

Difficult as it is to describe the full range of Wilson's contribution to our thinking and our ultimate goals I would like to close this brief discussion with two quotations which give several clues to his greatness.

The first statement is from his message to Congress asking for a declaration of war in 1917. Even in such a declaration, Wilson saw that lasting peace could follow conflict. We know the famous first sentence of the following excerpt, but perhaps in 1961 we should give renewed

thought to the other concepts expressed in the following passage:

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. * * *

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed and in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Mr. President, the second quotation comes from "Woodrow Wilson, World Prophet," a book by Mr. Arthur Walworth. Mr. Walworth, in his closing lines, gives a summary which, though brief, manages to sum up much of Wilson's contribution to the world:

Great universities are acting on Woodrow Wilson's concept of preceptorial teaching and democratic living in residential colleges; citizens intent on good government pursue his ideals, timbers of law with which he bulwarked American society against eroding currents are still sound after dire stresses, and the nations of the world have come closer to his envisioned parliament of man.

Jan Christian Smuts thought that at Paris the people had failed their prophets. But Woodrow Wilson took a more compassionate view. "The people were not ready," he said, "and perhaps they were right in thinking that the hour had not come."

Yet, he never doubted that it would come. On a fragment of paper, unsigned and undated, the biographer finds written in the firm, familiar hand this favorite verse from the Habakkuk:

"The vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry."

It is upon the validity of this faith that the measure of Woodrow Wilson's greatness depends.

DESIGNATION OF EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH AS A MAJOR FAITH IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, and Senators KEATINGE of New York and PELL of Rhode Island, I submit, for appropriate reference, a resolution to designate the Eastern Orthodox churches as a major faith in the United States.

Modern communications brought the inauguration of President Kennedy to the homes of millions of Americans, but comparatively few among our people appreciated the fact that even as Archbishop Iakovos prayed for the President,

the church which His Eminence represents had no official standing before the Government of the United States.

The designation of Archbishop Iakovos, the Eastern Orthodox primate of North and South America, as a participant in the inauguration proceedings was a partial recognition of his church as a major American faith. Our bill would make this recognition complete.

The Eastern Orthodox churches, by universal agreement, constitute one of the major divisions of worldwide Christianity. The Eastern Orthodox family is surpassed in membership by only four great non-Christian religions of the world—Moslem, Hindu, Confucian, and Buddhist. Among the world's Christian faiths, it is third in membership.

In the United States, Eastern Orthodoxy ranks fourth in membership among religious groups, surpassed only by the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish faiths.

Last year, membership in the various Eastern Orthodox churches in this country was conservatively estimated by the National Council of Churches at 2,545,318.

The latest figures available to me indicate that membership has now increased to at least 2,807,000.

To those who may fear that the precedent here set may open the door to similar claims by numerous other faiths, it may be pointed out that none of the faiths not now designated by our Government has a comparable membership in the United States.

There are other reasons why the Eastern Orthodox Church ought to be designated a major faith in the United States.

Several Federal agencies have omitted Eastern Orthodoxy in projects in which Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths have been invited to participate. The legislatures of more than half the States in the Union have passed resolutions recognizing Eastern Orthodoxy as a major religious faith.

The proposed resolution does not envisage any expenditure of money, or any action in support or preference of the Eastern Orthodox faith. It is intended as public recognition of the fact that the American citizens of Eastern Orthodox faith constitute a substantial segment of our community, separate from the three major faiths already designated, and justly entitled to consideration in any Federal action or statement related to religious matters.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The resolution (S. Res. 88) was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

Whereas the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox Church is a major faith in the United States and throughout the world; and

Whereas Senate bill 106, Eighty-fourth Congress, led to the designation of the Eastern Orthodox faith as a separate religious faith in the Armed Forces of the United States; and

Whereas several Federal agencies have omitted Eastern Orthodoxy in projects which Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths have been invited to participate; and

Whereas more than half of the States in the United States through their legislators have passed resolutions recognizing Eastern Orthodoxy as a major religious faith; and

Whereas the Eastern Orthodox faith has millions of communicants throughout the world including several million in the United States; and

Whereas where anything is said concerning the major faiths, usually the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths are referred to; and

Whereas it therefore follows that a religious distinction is being made in omitting the Eastern Orthodox Church, which is contrary to the prevailing principle of democracy and freedom of religion in this country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Eastern Orthodox Church is a major faith in this country; and that all references by Federal agencies to major faiths now limited to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews include the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I am delighted today to join with Senator CASE in sponsoring the resolution which he has championed for several years to give official recognition to the Eastern Orthodox Churches as a major religion. I have talked with a number of leading clerics of the Eastern Orthodoxy and I am quite familiar with the deep interest they have in this measure and also with the major reasons which they give in support of this legislation. I am fully satisfied that the position of members of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the United States and the situations which have given rise to this proposal justify its passage.

It is, in my mind, entirely fitting that the Government should accord, under the law, the same treatment to this important group of Americans that it does to the major recognized religions in the United States today.

I commend my colleague and thank him for giving me the opportunity to join with him in this important endeavor.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from New York.

EXTENSION OF NATIONAL WOOL ACT—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Mr. HICKEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent at the next printing of the bill (S. 454) to extend the National Wool Act, that the names of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], be added as cosponsors.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF CODE RELATING TO DETERMINATIONS AND DECISIONS—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on February 2, 1961, on behalf of myself and other Senators, I introduced the bill (S. 769) to amend section 2310 of title 10 of the United States Code, relating to determinations and decisions.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] desires that his name also be added as a cosponsor. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of Senate bill 769, the name of the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ASSISTANCE TO STATES IN HEALTH CARE FOR THE AGED—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, at the request of the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], I ask unanimous consent that his name be included as one of the cosponsors of Senate bill 937, to provide for a program of Federal matching grants to the States to enable the States to provide health insurance for individuals aged 65 or over at subscription charges such individuals can pay, introduced by the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] (for himself and other Senators) on February 13, 1961.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 9, 1961, the names of Senators FONG, BUTLER, HICKENLOOPER, MILLER, and KEATING were added as additional cosponsors of the bill (S. 822) to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy to research and develop an integrated, operational science to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism and to train Government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science, introduced by Mr. MUNDT (for himself and other Senators) on February 9, 1961.

AMENDMENT OF WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 9, 1961, the names of Senators MOSS, NEUBERGER, CLARK, LONG of Missouri, and MORSE were added as additional cosponsors of the bill (S. 861) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to provide for a more effective program of water pollution control, introduced by Mr. HUMPHREY (for himself and Mr. MCCARTHY) on February 9, 1961.

AMENDMENT OF SMALL BUSINESS ACT—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILLS

Under authority of the order of the Senate of February 9, 1961, the name of Mr. SMATHERS was added as an additional cosponsor of the following bills, introduced by Mr. SPARKMAN (for himself and other Senators) on February 9, 1961:

S. 902. A bill to amend the Small Business Investment Act of 1958, and for other purposes; and

LPI-27

(FREEDOM ACADEMY)

WASHINGTON--THE "FREEDOM ACADEMY" BILL, DESIGNED TO TEACH AMERICANS HOW TO FIGHT THE COLD WAR, WAS SCHEDULED TO BE INTRODUCED TODAY BY SEN. KARL E. MUNDT, R-S.D.

THE MEASURE WOULD SET UP AN AGENCY TO DEVELOP NON-MILITARY TACTIC TO BE USED BY THE FREE WORLD IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE WITH COMMUNIST POWERS.

THE ACADEMY THEN WOULD OFFER COURSES TO GOVERNMENT WORKERS, TEACHERS, TRADE UNIONISTS, BUSINESSMEN, CLERGYMEN, AND PRIVATE CITIZENS TRAVELING ABROAD.

MUNDT TOLD THE SENATE IN A PREPARED SPEECH THAT THE COMMUNISTS SYSTEMATICALLY HAVE PREPARED FOR POLITICAL AGGRESSION FOR MORE THAN 40 YRS.

MUNDT SAID THE U.S. HAD RELIED ON SHORT-TERM PLANNING TO MEET THESE MOVES. HE SAID THIS WAS NOT ENOUGH.

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FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL

Fight on Communism Again
Proposed to Congress

WASHINGTON Jan 16 (AP)

A proposal to create a "Freedom Academy" to teach Americans scientific ways to combat communism was advanced today by Representative Robert P. Griffin.

The Michigan Republican's bill, similar to one he sought to make law last year, also would form a "Freedom Commission" charged with developing a "science of anti-communism."

He said the Freedom Academy would be "the place where that science would be taught."

Mr. Griffin said the Soviet Union and Communist China were far ahead of the United States in teaching "cold war techniques and activities."

"The Soviets have placed great emphasis upon 'cold war' training and have done much in that direction. They have an extensive system of training schools at Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Prague and elsewhere on both sides of the Iron Curtain," he said.

F.A. Bill
Griffin

we join in paying tribute to the gallant Ukrainian people who fought gallantly in defense of their freedom and independence and who never accepted the yoke imposed upon them by Communist Russia and have continued to fight for their liberation despite the fact that in 1920, Ukraine was overrun by the Communist troops of Moscow.

At this moment, when the Communist world, headed by Communist Russia, is marshaling its forces against the free world, as announced in the Communist manifesto in Moscow on December 8, 1960, we here in the United States, enjoying the blessings of liberty and freedom, express our sympathy to and understanding of the Ukrainian people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

It is earnestly to be hoped that there may be restored to the Ukrainian people and to all enslaved nations, the blessings of freedom and liberty.

Senator Dodd Looks Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1961

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the current discussion of reform of the electoral college, I append herewith an article entitled "Senator Dodd Looks Ahead," which appeared in Ralph de Toledano's column in Washington on January 8, 1961.

This is a most penetrating analysis of this difficult and pressing problem and a constructive proposal for remedying this defect in our electoral process and I am happy to append this article so that the views of the Connecticut Senator may have widespread circulation.

IN WASHINGTON

(By Ralph de Toledano)

SENATOR DODD LOOKS AHEAD

When the Senate begins what will be a long and tortured debate on reform of the electoral college, one of those most active will be Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut. Tom Dodd has already introduced an amendment to the Constitution which would require that the electoral vote of each State be divided according to the percentage of the popular vote each candidate receives. He believes that the present system is unfair and abnormal and that his amendment would eliminate all the evils arising from the artificial importance the unit rule gives to a few large States. He finds something seriously wrong in an electoral process that makes decisive not the vote of 70 million, but the vote of several thousand in a few key areas.

With Senator Dodd working for this amendment, it will not expire on the Senate's cutting room floor. Tom Dodd is one of the relatively few in public life who combine a sense of dedication, the intellectual capacity to implement this sense, and the drive to push toward his goal no matter what the obstacles. As acting chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he has brought balance and direction to the

nated with lackadaisical puttering.

Though he is reflective and gentle in speech and manner, this is deceptive. In many ways he is a maverick; and like most mavericks, he fights hard. In 1956 he wrested the Democratic senatorial nomination from the State Democratic machine and confounded the pundits by winning the election. At the 1960 Democratic Convention, he was the only delegate to make his opposition to Senator Kennedy's nomination public, but he swallowed his defeat and campaigned actively for the ticket.

TOM DODD is deeply concerned over America's role as a bastion in the world's fight for freedom. He has just returned from a tour of Europe where he spoke to the leaders, official and otherwise, in this fight. He has observed at first hand the fumbling efforts of many U.S. officials to meet the challenge posed by the protracted conflict of our times, as well as their widespread lack of understanding of the forces working against us. He does not ascribe sinister motives to those who make foolish policy. But you are just as dead if the man who held the gun didn't know it was loaded.

High on Senator Dodd's agenda for this session of Congress is the enactment of the Freedom Academy bill which passed the Senate last year but was crowded out of the House Calendar. The idea of creating a Freedom Academy has had widespread support on both sides of the congressional aisle. It has been endorsed by liberals and conservatives, by cold war experts, and by scholars. When it is set up, the Academy will bring together the most knowledgeable men in the field of Communist strategy and tactics—for example, Col. William Kintner, whose "The Front Is Everywhere," ranks among the most perceptive and incisive technical books ever written on Communist organization and operations. These men will make up the faculty. The students will be young people from the United States and other countries who will be taught to know the enemy and to organize counter-strategy for the political and psychological areas of the cold war.

Negotiation with the Communists will never bring peace to the world, Senator Dodd says. Only total victory over Communist subversion in Latin America, Asia, and Africa can save the West. The point is well taken. For four decades, the Soviets have been training bright young men from these tinderbox areas in the organization of catastrophe. Graduates of the Lenin School in Moscow crop up wherever there is trouble. In Ghana they are Ghanaists, in Cuba they are Cubans—and it is child's play for them to pose as nationalists and to dominate the untrained and disorganized, democratic leaders. A relatively small number of Freedom Academy alumni could with equal success apply the concept of the strategic minority in opposition to the Communists.

Discussing the Academy with me yesterday, Senator Dodd made it clear that this was only a first step. He believes education is a vital factor, but education that is purposeful and geared to the realities of the situation. What he would like to see is a new university rising in Washington, supported if necessary by public funds. "I'd like to bring thousands of young people to this country," he said, "where they could see why and how our form of government works."

But alone, the inculcation of democratic ideals would not succeed. Senator Dodd is aware that this can backfire—as it did for the British and the French who created a class of intellectuals in Asia and Africa, then let them return home unprepared for playing a significant role in their countries.

His dream is to give the young people who attended this university practical schooling in engineering and the sciences, in medicine

so that they can have something to offer their struggling countries beyond an ideological understanding of a free society—so that they can earn a livelihood. The unemployed intellectual usually ends up as the embittered ally of the world's predatory movements.

This is a big order—and on the face of it an expensive one. But its cost would hardly make a dent in the combined defense budget and pay far greater dividends than most of our foreign aid. Funds would be spent in this country, moreover, reducing the drain on the dollar. For Senator Dodd, this truly American university would be both desirable and highly practical.

USDA Research Made Important Advances During 1960

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 18, 1961

Mr. MCINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, research undeniably plays a vital part in the remarkable advances that are being made by American agriculture.

So that my colleagues can gain an immediate perspective on the accomplishments of agricultural research, I submit to the Record an article from the January 14 issue of the *Packer*, a vegetable trade publication, presenting a breakdown of research applied to the various agricultural areas during 1960.

USDA RESEARCH MADE IMPORTANT ADVANCES DURING 1960

WASHINGTON, D.C., January 13.—Summarizing research advances during 1960, the U.S. Department of Agriculture points to new findings made during the year that may lead to more efficient and profitable crop and livestock production. Concentrating on basic research, USDA scientists probed mysteries of nature to come up with principles and concepts that may provide improved tools for the agriculture of the future.

Of major importance among 1960's farm research findings by workers in USDA's pioneering laboratories is information on how nutrients move from the soil to the interior of plants and how plants gain resistance or susceptibility to disease.

Agricultural Research Service entomologists made an important gain in the fight against insect pests during the year when they synthesized an insect attractant that occurs naturally in the female gypsy moth. This discovery made possible for the first time the synthesis of unlimited quantities of a related attractant that can be manufactured at low cost. The synthetic will aid in detecting infestations, and its possible use in gypsy moth control programs is being explored.

STERILIZING FLIES

Self-annihilation of houseflies and fruit-flies as a result of chemical sterilization was tried by USDA entomologists this year for the first time. These experiments mark the first laboratory trials of a chemical that sterilizes both male and female flies. By mixing small quantities of this material in the flies' food, permanent sterility is achieved and the flies cannot reproduce.

A newly discovered species of fungus common to Louisiana sugarcane soil and believed

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Date: JAN 2 1954

*Freedom Academy
file*

Proposed 'Freedom Academy,' and Arguments

By MILTON BRITTEN,
The Press-Scimitar Bureau

WASHINGTON.—A federal academy to train U. S. officials and prepare the nation's citizens to understand and counter Communism's Cold War strategies seems likely to become a reality during the new Congress.

Backers of this so-called "Freedom Commission" Bill see the academy as democracy's answer to various centers in Moscow, Prague, Red China, and elsewhere, which draw Communists from throughout the Red world for intensive total warfare training.

The Communists, these legislators argue, use their centers to teach all forms of social conflict—political, ideological, psychological, economic, parliamentary, etc., in their massive effort to win and remake the world into a Marxist society.

In contrast, the bill's supporters say, U. S. efforts are diffuse, piecemeal, and inadequate. Says one of the bill's champions, Sen. Thomas Dodd (Dem., Conn.), vice chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee—

"The free world does not have to ape Communist methods. This is neither desirable nor necessary. It is a question of thinking thru all of the methods and means free men can properly use when faced with a Soviet type challenge, then integrating these into a total counter-strategy of our own, which will meet the entire Soviet attack, not just parts of it, and work towards our national objectives in a systematic manner.

"Further, our own strategy must not be merely defensive. Those who plan only a holding

operation are inviting eventual defeat. Ours must be a strategy with the worldwide victory of freedom as its ultimate objective."

To do this the "Freedom Commission" Bill would create an independent commission of seven members, appointed by the president and serving staggered six-year terms. They would establish an advanced training and development center—the Freedom Academy.

The commission would bring together within the academy a full-time faculty of experts to develop and teach ways and means of thwarting the Soviet total warfare approach and effecting our own "strategy for victory."

As envisaged, the academy would not only provide intensive training for professionals in the upper levels of government, but also less extensive training for lower echelon officials and private citizens, such as newspaper editors, civic and labor leaders and foreign students.

Altho the House has never held hearings on this measure, it passed the Senate quietly, on voice vote, in the closing days of the 86th Congress. As evidence of the broad support it enjoyed, the bill's Senate champions pointed to its unlikely combination of major sponsors, Illinois liberal Democrat Paul Douglas and South Dakota's right-wing Republican Karl Mundt.

Actually the bill was first introduced in the House some two years ago by Rep. Walter Judd (Rep., Minn.), former medical missionary and longtime student of Communism's total warfare technique, and Rep. Sydney Herlong (Dem., Fla.).

In the House, it was referred to the House Un-American Activities Committee, headed by Rep. Francis E. Walter (Dem., Pa.), who is said to lean toward objections offered by the State and Justice Departments during Senate hearings on the bill.

These two executive departments said they thought the development and training functions of the Freedom Academy—an estimated \$35,000,000-a-year operation—could be handled with less overlapping and confusion by existing agencies.

The Foreign Service Institute, the National War College, the Army and Naval War College, the Air University, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, private foundations, the Russian Research Center at Harvard and similar centers elsewhere all deal with various aspects of the problem in varying degrees.

Sen. Dodd argues, however, "It would take a major overhaul, a drastic reorientation, a greatly expanded staff and facilities before any one of (the government agencies) or all of them together, could approach the work of the Freedom Academy . . . as a practical matter, nothing will be done until one agency is divorced from other responsibilities and given clear direction and authority to do the job."

The Senate sponsors plan to re-introduce their bill. Rep. Judd says he will seek an early conference with House Speaker Sam Rayburn to expedite the bill's passage by the House. They are optimistic of success.

Pro and Con

Furthermore, under the Kennedy administration they hope that objections of State and Justice Departments will be withdrawn. Both Douglas and Judd, who helped wheel their state behind the Democratic national ticket, will exert an influence within the Executive Department that they haven't enjoyed under the Eisenhower administration.

Another factor in the bill's favor—unmentioned by its backers—is clever wording. What politician would really enjoy going on record in opposition to a "Freedom" Commission?